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COOPERATIVE EXTENSION WORK IN AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS

U. S. Department of Agriculture
and State Agricultural Colleges
Cooperating

Extension Service, Office of
Cooperative Extension Work,
Washington, D. C.

REPORT OF STUDY OF NEGRO MIGRATION
Made by T. M. Campbell,
November 11 to December 15, 1923.

Letter of Transmittal.

Tuskegee Institute, Ala.,
January 7, 1924.

Sir: I hand you, herewith, a statement covering somewhat in detail the trip made through some of the Northern States for the purpose of studying negro migration. I judge that some time in the future, in conference with you and other department officials, I shall have an opportunity to state some further impressions gained while making this study.

Very respectfully,

Dr. C. B. Smith, *Chief,*
Office of Cooperative Extension Work,
Washington, D. C.

T. M. Campbell, *Field Agent,*
Office of Cooperative Extension Work.

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REPORT OF A STUDY OF NEGRO MIGRATION.

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NOTE.- If the reader can, for the time being, forget the color of the race to which the writer belongs, then he will place himself in the proper and true attitude to understand the following narrative. This rather cursory investigation of conditions among negroes was made in the cities of Cincinnati, Cleveland, Youngstown, and Akron, Ohio, Detroit, Mich., Gary, Ind., Milwaukee, Wis., and Chicago, Ill.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

The study began at the colored Y.M.C.A., Cincinnati, Ohio, where conferences were held with the Y.M.C.A. secretary, who was at that time actively engaged in securing employment and places for the families of men who had just come across the Ohio River from the South. Cincinnati offers a splendid place for studying the situation, owing to the fact that scores of migrants stop there to get their bearing with the intention of moving on further into the great mysterious North; for indeed it is a mystery to a group of people, hundreds of thousands of whom have never before been out of their immediate rural southern communities.

The first visit was made to the Harriet Beecher Stowe City School. This school cost possibly more than a half million dollars and is manned entirely by negro personnel. This is the only school in the city which no white children attend. The colored officials of this school experience considerable opposition on the part of colored citizens of Cincinnati due to the fact that the citizens object to this kind of segregation, notwithstanding the fact that positions are open to colored young men and women as teachers in the institution. In November, 1922, this school had approximately 1,500 students. In November, 1923, the register showed 2,200. Most of this increase consisted of the children of negro parents from the South - a large number from Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi, and a sprinkling from Tennessee.

During the time this investigation was being made, there was considerable excitement and ill feeling on the part of some of the colored citizens over the discrimination that was being made in one of the city schools. In this school (where white and colored students attended) it is claimed that the colored girls were not allowed to take their swimming lessons along with the white girls. An arrangement was made whereby the colored girls were assigned to take their swimming lessons at the Phyllis Wheatley Colored School.

An interview was had with a migrant who had just come from Georgia. This individual had been threatened there by a group of white people who claimed that he had furnished the revenue officials with certain information relative to the location of a still. Friends of the negro advised that he leave until matters blew over. He left home early in the morning in an automobile driven by his son, accompanied by his nephew. They accidentally collided with an automobile driven by white people. Both cars were damaged, but fortunately no one was injured. Fearing that he might be arrested, he fled, leaving the parties in the road arguing. After traveling a distance of 15 or 20 miles by foot, he took the train for a large city in Georgia. Upon reaching there he wired a white friend at his home to meet him. The friend met him and furnished him information that his son and nephew had been arrested for the collision and were out on bond. Having \$285 in the bank at home, he wired the bank for \$100 in order that he might go on to the North, but for some reason unaccounted for he received only \$25, with no explanation as to why the other funds were not forthcoming. The white friend advised him to leave the State, saying that he would keep him posted as to developments. He arrived in Cincinnati with very little money and no work. The Y.M.C.A. secretary obtained a job for him as common laborer for the city. While conversing with me, this man stated that it was his intention never to live in the South again; that he was making every effort possible to move his family away as soon as he secured work. He further stated that a negro in the South is born down and the white people keep him down. "If you want to get along with the white man, when you meet him in the road, kinda tip your hat. If you know his name, say, 'Howdy do, Mr.-----.' If you don't know his name, say, 'Howdy, Cap.' In either case be sure to speak to him whether you know him or not. Failure to do this is sure to gain for the party the reputation of a biggity nigger."

In a study of the housing situation in Cincinnati, a visit was made to several apartments occupied by recent migrants. The guide called attention to an apartment house (very small) of 10 rooms in which were living 23 people, consisting of 2 families of 5 or 6 members each and the rest boarders. This house rented for \$110 per month. All the persons living in this house except three had come directly from Georgia within the last six months. In conversation with me, the wife of one of these families said that they did not own a farm, but were simply renters back in Georgia. The wife of the other family said that they did not own a farm but possessed one lot in Columbus, Ga. She added that while they did not own property, they always lived "good," meaning of course that they had plenty to eat and sufficient clothing to wear. Questioned as to why they left Georgia, one woman in this house said she left because "A colored person just ain't got no chance in the South. We had to almost guard our children every day when they went to school to keep from having trouble with the white children when they met each other going to and from the schoolhouse." "You see," she said, "if a white man mistreats a negro where I come from and the negro hits him, there ain't no chance for him." Discussion of the same question with another occupant of the house brought out this statement: "I left Georgia because I wanted better privileges." "Do you mean mixed schools, white churches, and association with white people in their homes generally?" I asked, "No," she said "I don't care nothing about that, but I just want to be somewhere where I won't be scared all the time that something is going to break loose."

An interview was had with a colored man in the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Station at Cincinnati who was en route from Stubenville, Ohio, to Anniston, Ala. It was found that he was originally a farmer and had drifted to public works in Anniston. There he learned considerable about foundry work and had been able to transfer from that section to the North, where he got work at a higher rate. He stated that he was going home for the winter. The reason was that the weather was getting cold and he wanted to protect his health. He stated further that he had saved enough money to get along in the South comfortably until the spring, when he would go back to his work in the North.

Inquiry was made as to what the city is doing toward meeting the emergency occasioned by the unprecedented influx of negroes from the South across the Ohio River into Cincinnati, the border city.

It was found that the American Red Cross is doing splendid work in helping some of the disabled colored soldiers. The Antituberculosis League is rendering valuable service in finding out the needs of these people and in turn carrying on intensive health and educational campaigns intended to teach them how to live "close together." Much of this work is done by specially trained colored nurses, by making house-to-house visits and through meetings at school centers, mothers' clubs, and churches, where lantern-slide lectures and motion-picture shows are given. These people are served by the Babies' Milk Fund Association. This association holds clinics in various sections where undernourished children up to three years of age receive milk at cost, or if their parents are destitute, receive the milk free. Medical attention and nursing care also are given in the homes of children under 6 years of age which apply to this association. Children up to 12 years of age are served at the general hospital clinic. The Better Housing League is assisting the recent migrants to find houses and is trying to work out a system of cooperation between landlord and tenants, so that the migrants will not be exploited by having to pay extortionate rents. An effort is made to encourage the landlord to keep the building in proper repair and in general to promote sanitary and healthful living conditions. This league conducts a kind of "proving station" known as the Housekeeping Center, where these country housewives are taught to live in city houses, for example, to use gas, electricity, running water, and other labor-saving devices. Also an effort is made at this center to train the women who contemplate working in the homes of white people. Many people, when seeking servants, use this service to help get the kind of material they need, in many cases requesting a written statement from the center that the women have been given initial instructions as housekeepers.

The moving of a large number of people from one section to another has its accompanying evils. It is found, unfortunately, that many family ties are broken in the transfer. In most cases the men go first. Apparently, some of them leave with great intentions and high aspirations; but as they meet with adversities many of their good intentions wane, so that by the time their wives and children reach the North, separations are inevitable, causing many cases of dependent children. There is endeavor to meet this situation by relieving fallen parents of their children, in order to place the children in desirable boarding homes under careful supervision. The federation of churches is doing a wonderful work in cooperation with the juvenile court to rescue delinquent colored boys. The juvenile court is possibly doing more to impress upon many of the heads of these families who have gone North the importance and legal necessity of supporting their

families and to help them to solve the many human problems, than any other organization. The Ohio Humane Society has appointed a colored worker to do special work for the protection of children who are destitute or are cared for improperly, and lays great emphasis on nonsupport. This law is being enforced rigidly upon a comparatively large number of migrants who otherwise might be inclined not to shoulder their marital responsibilities. The Visiting Nurses' Association is cooperating with many agencies. These colored nurses might be called variable "angels of mercy." They go on their official duties looking after the health of the children and grown-ups and in addition carrying rays of sunshine to thousands of these negro migrants who live in the alleys in squalor, who because of their unfamiliarity with city life, would otherwise be out of touch with civilization.

The colored Y.W.C.A. and the home for colored girls find a fertile field in getting hold of young colored girls who have gone North job-hunting and who find it a Herculean task, especially in strange cities where they are not known.

A wealthy white stock farmer in the Hocking Valley, in Ohio, communicated with colored persons in the South, asking cooperation in picking out two or three good colored families to occupy as many of the five substantial tenant houses which he has on his tract of land amounting to 900 acres. The writer was interested in finding out to what extent agriculture in the North is bidding for negro labor as well as industry. A visit to this farm revealed the fact that this man raises cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry for the market. He wants to get two good negro families. He will furnish house and garden; will give work to the children when they are not in school (he insists that all children of school age must go to school according to law); and will pay the head of the family and any boys whom they may have \$2 per day. Farmers in that section seem to be anxious to secure negro tenants. They say that unless relief comes soon they will be forced to give up many of their valuable holdings. It seems that much of the original labor has gone into industry, taking advantage of higher wages and city life. Going out of the Hocking Valley en route for Youngstown, Ohio, I met two negro men, one about 50 and the other around 22 years old. Conversation revealed the fact that they were from Greenville, Ala., going to a small industrial town in Ohio. The young man said he was going to see a married sister who had been in the North some two or three years. The old man (an uncle of the young man) said he was going to see his son who was also working in the same town. This was in November, and the weather was very cold. Both of these men were very poorly clad; in fact, their dress was entirely inadequate for that climate. Questioned as to whether or not they expected to return South, they said they would not if they could get work.

Youngstown, Ohio.

Many people have been under the impression that only the uneducated and shiftless negro was migrating to the North, but one striking feature of this investigation was the large number of intelligent negroes found to have gone North (many of them personally known by me), seeking for what most of them call "better opportunity." This was quite noticeable at Youngstown.

On Sunday I attended a colored church where a large part of the congregation was from the South. Here a chance was given to ascertain just what the church is doing to help the situation. After the morning services

were over, I embraced the opportunity to attend a spirited football game between the Booker T's, colored, and the Youngstown Giants, white. Although competition was very keen there was absolutely no outward sign of ill or racial feelings between the players. The white players showed that they had had superior training and therefore beat the colored players 7-0. I mingled freely among white and colored spectators in the grand stands, snatching bits of conversation from individuals, commenting on the game and individual players. One white man remarked before the game started that he suspected the colored boys would outplay the white boys because he thought they had a better organization and had been playing together longer. There were scores of white and colored people yelling and "ragging" each other in the most friendly way about their players.

Returning from the park with large numbers of people, men and women, packed on the street cars, an interesting study was furnished by watching the street-car conductors in their attitude toward white and colored people. An incident occurred that attracted some little attention: A white man escorting a lady undertook to push by a colored man who was also escorting a lady and was prevented by the colored man. They had words. The white man told the colored man to have some respect for the lady. The colored man in turn called his attention to the fact that he was with a lady also. They both expressed their feelings as strongly as they could afford to in the presence of ladies (somewhat on a 50-50 basis) and called it square. There was no effort on the part of spectators, white or colored, to take a hand in the affair. Neither one of the two men made any apparent effort to appeal to racial prejudice from either side.

I saw an old negro resident of Youngstown who was very much disturbed over the prevalence of the Ku-Klux Klan. He claims that it has been made an issue in the city government and that those favoring the Klan have elected a mayor; he stated also that a strenuous effort is being put forth by the organization to turn industrial employers against negro labor. He further states that southern white people are coming to the North in very large numbers and are embittering northern white people against negroes, advocating a complete separation of the races in schools, churches, and on public carriers. I attended a meeting of leading negro citizens, where an able address was delivered by a noted negro lawyer. He advocated the forming of an organization to combat the many evils being imposed upon negroes due to the presence of so large a number of southern white people and especially due to the activities of the Klan. He warned the people against violence, but appealed rather to their sense of intelligence, laying great emphasis on the strength of the ballot. As he stated, the occasion called for a matching of wits.

I met a negro man at Youngstown, an oversea soldier, who left Mobile, Ala., in 1913, went to Ohio and enlisted, saw service, and after being discharged was located in Ohio until 1920. From there he went to West Virginia and began working as a miner (before going North he had worked in the Ensley, Ala., industrial plants). He showed me his bank book indicating that, aside from the property that he owns, he had in cash, \$4,800. He was visiting Youngstown from West Virginia to look over some lots for which he was negotiating. These lots (suburban) were selling for \$500 apiece. Asked what he intended to do with property in Youngstown when his work was in West Virginia, he replied, "I plan to build a house in Youngstown and rent it out until wages get too low in West Virginia. Then I will move to

Youngstown and get work here." This laborer says that for 20 months he made \$300 per month. Now that the mines in which he works are running part time, he claims that he is making \$167 per month. Asked if he ever expected to live in the South, he replied with a broad grin, "Not if I can help it."

A talk with a colored citizen brought out the following statement on the public-school situation. "I, myself, am opposed to jim-crow schools. We may be forced into such a rule at any time, but I would like to ask a question. How many of our boys and girls are competent enough to step in and teach the younger generation and give them the same training and efficiency that the white teachers and instructors can give? My answer, to my regret is, not many. I dare say we would not be able to supply one school in one district with this kind of a teacher, and we must not forget that Youngstown is no small community. I do not mean that we must have colored teachers in each district. Personally I would be proud to know that my boy or girl was capable of teaching in a school, provided the same white man who advocates separate schools would make provision on his 50-50 basis so that our colored teachers and instructors would be permitted to become members of the white conventions and teacher-training associations in order that they might be able to compete with other teachers having the same opportunity."

A guide from the Booker T. Washington Center took me to visit a family that had emigrated from the country to Birmingham and from there had gone to Youngstown. There were nine in the family, man and wife, one daughter, and six boys, all living in a small, four-room house. The particular morning of our visit was very chilly, and the family had a big fire in the heater and all windows down. This, of course, made the air so stuffy as to almost stifle one who was sensitive anyway after coming in from the outside. I shall not dwell on the conditions of these homes, except incidentally. Finding them as crowded as they were, one would naturally expect to see bedroom, dining room, sitting room, and kitchen all combined, as was the case in so many homes of the common people which I visited. From all visible indications, furniture dealers are doing a rushing business in the sale of beds that can be folded away in the daytime. For this four-room house these people were paying \$22 per month. Three of the sons and the father were working on a night shift at one of the steel plants, each making \$4 to \$4.80 per day.

Questioned as to why they left the South, the head of the family told me that a white man came to his home one day while he was living on the farm, and asked him if he had any clocks or watches that he wanted repaired. He told the white man that he had an old clock that he might look over, and he took him into the house to look it over. Meanwhile, the white man engaged the colored man in conversation, which grew so interesting that the visitor lost sight of the repair of the clock and insisted on the farmer going North to work in an industrial plant. To quote the negro farmer: "After the white man left, me and the old lady got to thinking about what this man said. At that time I was afraid something might happen to me as I had some enemies, so we decided to let her stay at home, and that I would go and look the place over. I had some boys working in Birmingham, so I went there first. Everything looked pretty good and I decided to bring the old lady to Birmingham, which I did. We got along pretty good there, but I heard about work up here, so me and my sons came up here, and after we got all settled, sent back for my wife and daughter." I asked his wife if she would rather live in the

South than in the North. She said, "Cos', you has a hard time gittin' settled anywhere but if I've got to have a hard time I'd rather have it up here. Cos', I came here because my husband did, and since I've been here and learned about things, I certainly would rather live here where I have some privileges." "What do you mean by privileges," I asked, "Do you want to go with white people?" "No. I just want to feel safe."

I talked with two of this man's sons. They were young men around the ages of 21 and 24 I should say, strong, stalwart fellows, who had never had an opportunity to complete their education, although it appeared that they were quite intelligent. Conversation revealed the fact that they had received their initiation into city life at Birmingham, Ala. I asked how they liked Youngstown, and they said, "The North is a good place to work, but there's no pleasure up here." "What do you mean by pleasure?" I asked, "Nowhere to go. You go to the moving-picture shows, but you soon get tired of that. It's not like down in Birmingham, because there's always something going on there that you can go to at night. This place is just a good place to make money. Cos', there's this much you can say - there is no difference in pay between white and colored doing the same work." I asked these young men if they expected to go back South or remain North with their parents. They said they did not know, but they doubted if they would get back South soon for they thought that they would like to see a little more of the "world."

While walking through a section of Youngstown, I saw a negro laborer standing in the front yard of a fairly good-looking home. According to southern custom (we generally speak whether we know each other or not), I passed the time of day with him, and then our conversation ran something like this: "Do you live here?" "Yes", he replied. "How long have you been here?" "I ain't been here but about a month. I lived further down in the 'Bottoms', but I saved up a little money, and moved up here where I can have a little more room and it's more healthy." "Where did you come from?" "Georgia." "How long have you been up here?" "One year and a half." "Why did you come?"

"Well, Mister," he said, "I'm gwine ter tell you the truth. I believe in giving the devil his dues. For 15 years I lived with as good a white man as I want to meet, North or South, and we got along all right. I know a lot of negroes came up here because they had trouble with white folks, but I never had a day's trouble with white folks in my life. For two years I tried to make cotton, and the boll weevil came and got it all, and I found myself getting fu'ther and fu'ther in debt. So I had a talk with my landlord. I turned a pair of mules over to him, my wagon, plows, and other tools, and told him I was going North to work, and if what I turned over to him settled my bill, he might have it. He said that he did not blame me at all. I had some hogs we were raising on halves. At the end of the year he killed the hogs, took his half of the meat, and sent me my share to Youngstown by freight. I had just sent for my wife and the landlord sent me word by her that if I ever wanted to come back, my place was open. I'm getting along well up here, because I 'tend to my business and let other folks along. Cos', the North is different from the South, and the people treat you better up here than they do down home."

Next I was taken to one of the public schools, where a large number of children of negro parents were in attendance, with an almost equal number of children of foreign parentage, and the rest American whites. I was

anxious to find out from the principal to what extent these newcomers from the South were able to find themselves and to become a part of the system. As soon as I was given an introduction to the principal, a white lady, and the moment she found out I was from the South, she said, "Why on earth are these colored children so low in their grades? What kind of a system do you have that allows them to grow up without training?" She said that they came in this year in such large numbers that "the only thing we can do is to organize separate classes. We call them opportunity classes." I visited one opportunity room where there were 40 students, practically all of whom were foreign whites and southern negroes. Nine of the colored children were from Georgia and three were from Alabama, and this was their first year in school. It was rather pathetic to see these big, strapping boys and girls, some almost half grown in size, unable to make grades with 6 or 7-year-old white children.

I was interested in the so-called race question in reference to these children. Summing it up, they seem to get along better than we grown-ups do at least there seems less self-consciousness among individuals. The young lady teacher (all of the teachers are white) in charge of one opportunity class had the students sing some songs for us, namely, "Carry Me Back To Old Virginny" and "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," which one of the boys led. The colored lady who took me around was born in the North, and she strongly resented the negro children being called upon to sing songs that referred in any way to slavery. She felt that they should be required to sing only patriotic songs and be encouraged to forget plantation melodies.

In a little talk I made at a church, reference was made to some of the sayings that our people use in the South. I referred to the fact that I was traveling in the North, not for my health, nor on a pleasure trip. I said, "I am here, as you northerners would say, 'from down behind the sun' and as we southerners would say 'for no form nor fashion.'" One of my friends, born in the South and educated partly in the South and partly in the North, who heard my talk, exhibited a sensitiveness that was more or less pathetic, showing that there is a desperate effort on the part of most negroes who go North to conceal anything that tends to reveal the fact that they are originally from the South.

I was guided to another public school in Youngstown and introduced to the lady principal. Out of 200 negro children in her school, 64 had come from the South during the year 1923. In conversation, this principal said that although those who came were of a lower grade, they showed a greater eagerness to learn than did the students of both races who were born in the North. I inquired of the principal to what extent did she receive the cooperation of the parents of these negro children. She said that in proportion as she proved to them that she was their friend, even though she was white, they were perfectly lovely. "Of course," she said, "we meet with negro parents who are unreasonable just as there are white parents who are unreasonable. Some of the parents have criticized the schools, saying that their children do not learn as fast as they did 'down home.'" I asked my guide, a colored citizen of Youngstown, why there were no colored teachers in the schools of that city, and she said that the negroes were afraid to advocate it on account of the fear of a separate school system. "In fact," she said, "Our people seem hardly to know what to do. In connection with our welfare work, we call mothers' meetings. The negro, white, and foreign mothers are invited. A few of our

colored women come, but they do not seem to feel free. If we call a separate meeting of the colored women, they are advised by other colored people not to come for fear of jim-crowism."

I next visited the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Plant, a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation, where I was introduced to a white man, who makes the contracts between the company and its employees. Of course, I was mainly interested in the negro employees. I asked this man if many of the Negroes who came North actually left their homes because of intimidation from the Ku-Klux Klan. He said, "I am not a Klansman myself, but I believe the organization has some good qualities in it. At least they stand for some things that are O. K. You see where I stand. Yes, these negroes are very confidential with me. They tell me their innermost secrets. Thousands of them left the South because they did not feel secure."

May I quote a few statements from an interview I had with another official of this company as follows:

"The plants in the Youngstown district are employing approximately 45,000 men, 12 per cent of whom are colored. This percentage increased greatly during the last three years. The colored man has entered many new fields in our section of the country, and so far as I can learn he is making good, and compares favorably with the other types of men who go through our employment offices. The introduction of the Negro and the treatment received by him from the employment and medical departments have much to do with his attitude toward the work assigned and the impression gained by the newcomer as to the policy of the company employing him.

"There are two types of man: The man who applies at the gate, and the man who is brought in by transportation. The latter is generally the emergency man, and the one that must be secured at once so that operation will not be hindered. Some companies have sent their representatives to the South, to the employment agencies to secure men, but I am frank to admit that this system does not always get the real worker we need, as free transportation and other things offered by some, have appealed to a class which is shiftless, and takes this means of a trip North.

"The policy of our company, which is now employing about 3,000 negroes in the Youngstown district, has been to advance the man's transportation and lend him money to move his family after he is on the job and satisfied, deducting a reasonable amount of each pay until the loan has been paid, believing that you will get better type of man when he is willing to pay his own way. Our turnover shows that our judgment in this matter has been correct, for it has been greatly decreased and a much better type of man is being secured than formerly came from nearby sources of supply.

"The steel industry is offering to the colored man opportunities the same as any other man, according to his ability to do the work, and many of them are being employed in the various departments of the mill such as merchant, rod, wire and nail, cork plant, open hearth, foundries, converting, blooming, sheet, puddle, skelp, tube mills, masonry, carpentry, or as engineers, firemen, etc. In our district there are plants employing as many as 3,000 negroes, and it will no doubt surprise you to know that not quite 10 per cent, or 300 of them are working on the common-labor basis of \$4 or \$4.80 per day. The rest

are among our semiskilled and skilled workmen, making \$7, \$8, \$10, and up to \$16.50 a day.

"As far as I know, there are very few places where the negro workman does not have an equal chance with the white workman. If he does not, I would suggest patience be advised on our part, for we must realize that the Negro as a citizen and workman is a new factor in some places, and must have time to adjust himself, as well as for his employer and fellow workmen to understand and appreciate his disposition and requirements.

"After all is said, the negro who emigrates from the South is just the same as any other person who migrates. He does so because he is dissatisfied with his condition and seeks other locations because he either wants to better his condition and that of his family, or to have more liberty to enjoy the things that he believes he is entitled to, so it is going to take some little time for his real worth to be appreciated. I feel that with but few exceptions the foremen and superintendents of the various departments are quite desirous of seeing that he gets a square deal, and the management is doing all possible to see that the right men are put with him, so that he may not be hampered in his efforts to succeed in his new field of work."

The leading colored undertaker of Youngstown, who handles a large percentage of the negro business of the city and especially for the big industrial plants, was kind enough to place at my disposal his records of negro deaths for the past year. These records showed that the death rate is practically the same among negroes who have gone North in the past 2 or 3 years as that of those who have been living there 10 or 15 years. This undertaker explained that the tendency of the colored man who comes North to work is to go to the other extreme and put on too many clothes. I saw death records of a large number of corpses that were shipped into Alabama, Georgia, Virginia, and other Southern States. These certificates showed that most of the people who died came North in a very run-down condition, poorly nourished, and predisposed to pulmonary troubles and the so-called social diseases. This undertaker was also kind enough to escort me into the section of the city where the largest number of people whom he handles die.

We went into miserable pool rooms and into some of the negro homes, for instance, into the homes of two families from Birmingham, Ala. Here again we found them closed up in their houses, with a big fire going and practically no ventilation. From that section we went into the quarters of two of the big steel plants. One of the plants has a beautifully constructed group of apartment houses, well lighted, with hot and cold water, well heated, and very attractive; but unfortunately, these colored people from the South have never lived in surroundings of this kind, and therefore, the buildings, lawns, and other surroundings were poorly kept, despite the fact that the company's welfare workers keep a close watch over the situation.

We went into what was called a negro hotel. It was as dirty as "sin" in every respect. It would be as difficult for one to live under

these conditions without taking on the hue of his environment as it would be to go down a chimney dressed in white and come out without being blackened.

In practically all of the homes visited, we found more or less costly victrolas, and very few pianos, of course. I quite agree with Mr. Ulysses S. Poston, in his article "The Negro Awakening" in Current History Magazine for December, 1923, when he says:

"Oppression and segregation, with their attendant horrors, are fastening on the Negro another form of music known as 'jazz.' In order to forget the stressful conditions under which he is living, he falls an easy prey to the cheap amusement to be found in cabarets, cheap burlesque shows and other forms of underworld life. Out of this environment the Negro, collaborating with whites with the same tastes, is developing a vulgar, suggestive music, which is rapidly replacing the genuine musical art which makes for cultural advancement. In the average American home, especially that of the Negro, you will find on the Victrolas, player pianos, and music cabinets such suggestive numbers as 'He May Be Your Man, But He Comes To See Me Sometimes' or 'You've Got To See Mamma Every Night.'"

I might add to Mr. Poston's list of jazz songs, "Aggravatin' Papa," "It's Right Here For You," and a whole category of weird, degrading "Blues."

I also had a talk with a colored probation officer, who told me that the colored southern girls who are coming North in large numbers are very hard to control. The officer, a woman, said, "They seem to have a fascination for the northern girls' bad habits, and once they get started, they go the limit."

I was very much impressed with what the colored undertaker said. Having been born in the South himself, he spoke with unusual insight into the whole situation. He remarked:

"I have purposely taken you and have showed you today the worst conditions among our people, as I felt that you would get the proper conception of what the average southern negro has to undergo when he comes North looking for work. If it were not for the fact that most of us who came to the North had to start under practically the same conditions, and work our way above them, I would be discouraged. I have seen families come here and live in these hell-holes for a few years, until they could make a little money. They would gradually move out into more healthful sections, and finally buy homes in respectable neighborhoods, so that it can be safely said that a large number of the people whom you have visited today do not live in these sections by choice, but are driven to it because of high rent and other equally extortionate prices. The one hopeful thing about the common, laboring negro is, that no matter how miserable home life is, he will go to church. Take away the Negro's religious tendencies and he is doomed."

In conversation with me, a colored public stenographer, whose patronage is practically all white, said that strong pressure was being brought to bear on the present administration to have the immigration

laws amended so that the usual supply of European labor might be available, thereby checking the large movement of negroes from the South to the North, and cutting off thousands of those who are now employed in the big industrial plants.

Akron, Ohio.

At Akron, Ohio, I called upon an official of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and was not received very cordially. I told him that I understood that his railroad hauled a large number of the migrants who came North. His reply was:

"I do not know where the 'darkies' come from. We get them from St. Louis, Cleveland, Chicago, Cincinnati. Where they come from to these places I do not know."

Asked what he thought of negro labor in the North, he stated that it was a failure. He said that they would not work long at a time and that:

"Our company is now replacing them with Mexicans, and the Mexicans are now giving absolute satisfaction." He said further, "We worked the negroes in our camps, but they were too rough, gambling, shooting, cutting each other. So we decided to change."

I visited the leading colored undertaker, where I confess the information and illustrations received were a bit too impressive and concrete. He took me into the morgue and showed me two bodies, a negro woman and girl from Alabama, which he had ready to ship South. He took me from there to the parsonage, where I was introduced to a negro preacher from Selma, Ala., who had charge of the funeral. Needless to say, I felt quite at home, or as much at home as one could feel among the dead. This particular undertaker was not born in the South, so he looked upon the negro migration from a somewhat different angle than did the undertaker in Youngstown, and quite naturally, because he belonged to that group of negroes that might be classed as the extreme "near-white." In fact, one would never think of him from appearance as belonging to the colored race, and doubly so, owing to the fact that he lived in an exclusive white neighborhood. My attention was called to the fact that the Ku-Klux Klan had paraded certain parts of the city a few days before my arrival. In front of this undertaker's house, on the paved sidewalk was painted, in letters possibly two or three feet tall, three K's. Discussing this matter with me, the undertaker said that he made a joke of it, and told some of his friends that the sign was evidently left there so that if any trouble came he would be passed over. (Somewhat like the blood on the doorposts in Bible times!) This particular undertaker believed that the negroes were dying too rapidly as compared with the whites, but not being willing to have me make a statement on what he thought, he was kind enough to take me to the city health office, where the division of vital statistics gave me access to their records.

The estimated population of negroes in Akron according to the last school census was 5,000 with a death rate of approximately 16 per thousand. I have compared the negro population of Montgomery, Ala., 20,000, which

shows a death rate of approximately 26.3 per thousand.

All along I met many exceedingly fair-minded southern white people, which was indeed gratifying. In almost every case, these individuals met the situation, and frankly discussed the race question as it exists North and South. One man, a native of Virginia, holding a responsible position in the city government of Akron, said among other things that he felt the negroes should not be unduly alarmed over the activities of the Klan organization, and that he believed the negro exodus would prove in the end a blessing. He said that it would wake up the South as nothing else could do; that the scarcity of labor would cause the South to institute better methods of farming, thereby causing that section to take its stand along with others.

I was anxious to find out to what extent, if any, the negro exodus accelerated crime in those sections where negroes have gone in large numbers. So it was my privilege to have an interview with an official of the detective force of Akron. I asked him if he thought the recent comers from the South were dying faster than those who had been there over a long period of years. He said that negroes did not die any faster than anybody else under similar conditions. He believed housing conditions were better in his city than where most negroes come from. They seem to live wherever they are able. He said:

"I come in very close contact with southern negro people. A colored woman from Georgia has worked in my house for the past four years. Her husband works in one of the plants. This one family has been the cause of a large number of their kin coming North to secure work. There is one place known as the 'Bottoms' where the negroes live in a more or less crowded and unsanitary condition. Other than that, they live all over Akron.

"Negroes do not make very much moonshine here. Most of it is made by foreigners. We have had five policemen killed between the years 1917 and 1929. And each one was killed by a foreigner. Very few of the colored people are hauled into the courts, as compared to the numbers that are here. My conclusion is that your people come North for better treatment, better school advantages. It is true that food, clothing, rents, doctor's bills are higher than in the South, but then they make four or five times as much money here as they do down there. My impression is that the Negro will not go back South in large numbers as long as he can get anything to do up here. As the number increases here in our town, they are beginning to have their own places of amusement in the way of dance halls, pool rooms, and these places do not give us very much trouble. Of course, when a man gets the kind of bad liquor in him that is being sold now, he becomes crazy, whether he is black or white. There are a few roughs who make trouble, but I want to tell you, that I have never in my life seen people go to church so much and in such large numbers as the negroes who come here from the South."

I visited one of the public schools where I had a conference with the lady principal. I found that the Akron city school system is the same as that of Youngstown. No colored teachers are employed. This lady prin-

principal remarked that the school system in the South must be in very bad shape judging from the grades made by negro children that are coming into the city schools in very large numbers. She sent for a colored girl from Georgia for me to see. The girl was 17 years old and in the 1 B grade. Though I did not attempt to offer an excuse for a condition of this kind, I stated that in all fairness to the South, so far as negroes are concerned, the systems are not so poor as the terms are short, and that in the past negro rural education and cotton culture had conflicted very materially. When I asked this principal how the negro children adjusted themselves to their new surroundings, she said:

"The remarkable thing about many of these children is that they seem to have a mistaken idea about freedom. Why, these colored children seem to think they own the whole place at times. They fight, and even cut among themselves. Of course, they soon learn to get along with white and foreign children."

I was told that southern white parents had come in complaining about having to send their children to school with "niggers." The principal remarked, "We tell them that in the North we haven't any 'niggers' in our school. They are all the same to us." She said, "I think the home life, i.e., the poor conditions under which these colored people have lived and in many cases, are living now, has much to do with the actions and ill conduct of their children. Already since the large influx of negroes we have a section in the city referred to as 'Nigger Hill.'"

I asked a colored resident what she thought about separate schools. She said, "I will have to talk two ways. First, if we have separate schools here our children who graduate will have employment and develop leadership, which is a decided advantage. Second, to separate our children would mean that the white children would naturally come to the conclusion that they were superior to negro children and in turn the colored children would feel that they were inferior. School facilities and equipment would not be as good and it would be impossible to secure as good teachers all-round as is now the case. So you see, we are 'between the devil and the deep blue sea,' figuratively speaking. Of course, there are two classes of colored people coming North. You see, the old negro settlers have sat on the 'stool of do-nothing' all these many years until the educated hustling southern negro has come. He is filling positions and jobs that negroes have never been known to hold before and getting the best pay. Most of the welfare work in northern cities is being done by southern negroes because the white people say that they make better contacts between the races. We did not have any negro businesses to amount to anything until the southern negroes came in and started it."

Another city school principal told me of an incident that happened when she organized a glee club composed of colored students in her school. "They were doing nicely," she said. "I thought it would be a drawing card to invite them down to an important function at one of the leading hotels to sing to the guests. Everything was ready, but the glee club did not show up. I found out afterwards that they had been influenced by some one of their race not to serve on the ground that these folk songs were relics

of slavery and even though white people enjoyed them, they were detestable to the colored people. I had no idea that the colored people were so strongly opposed to this music."

While talking with me, a colored welfare worker said, "Prejudice is certainly growing rapidly here due to the increase of southern white people. For the past year or two, pastors of the different white churches have invited me in to speak to their congregations on the negro question. This was frequent until the last two or three months. I made an address in a church and the white preacher told a white friend of mine that since my appearance in his church, 10 of his members had withdrawn their membership." Asked if he would advocate separate schools, he said, "I am not sure what should be done toward separate schools. In either case, there is a gain and a loss." This worker pointed out some instances where the question of separation of the races seems to be emphasized. In line with what one of the colored women said about the hustling southern Negro, I attended a local negro business league that was organized this year, whose president is a negro doctor originally from Georgia. The object of this league, among other things, is to encourage the establishment of negro businesses and the patronage of them by negroes. I was privileged to speak to a group of colored men (of the night shift) in the employment of the Goodrich Rubber Co. The manager was very anxious that the men should be given advice on punctuality and reliability by a member of their own race. He said that these negro men were giving satisfaction.

Cleveland, Ohio.

I was informed by a resident of Cleveland that a church in the city was purchased recently by the Baptist denomination from the white people - the transaction being handled by a very energetic negro preacher formerly from Georgia. It was stated that this preacher brought the biggest portion of his congregation from Georgia with him. I availed myself of the opportunity to visit his church on Sunday. By 11 a. m. the church was overflowing, and most of the attendants were of the working class. I was anxious to find out to what extent the negro church is meeting the migration situation. I, therefore, paid close attention to the sermon, which was a very practical one. The preacher blended into his sermon, timely advice to the newcomers on how to conduct themselves in private and in public. He discussed the question of health, laying particular emphasis on abstaining from bad habits such as gambling, drinking, and carousing in general. He hit card-playing and dancing, hard.

I met some of the more or less radical colored people in Cleveland. They, apparently for awhile, doubted my sincerity. This feeling was intensified, owing to the fact that practically all of the colored welfare workers had correspondence in their possession from southern white organizations asking them to assist in rounding up a few hundred negro families and encourage them to return South to engage in cotton culture. I quote here a part of a letter handed me by a very indignant social worker when I called on her for certain information with reference to the colored people who have recently gone North:

"We are informed that there are a great many southern-raised negroes in middle western cities that are not finding work readily, and would be glad of an opportunity to come back South and raise cotton. Please advise us whether you could put us in touch with, say, one or two hundred families, that we could arrange to bring back to this country. If necessary, we can send a man up there to arrange the details, but we would like to know first whether it would be possible to secure the number we will need from any one city."

I happened on the scene about the time these requests were being received from southern organizations and naturally these workers were suspicious of me, thinking that I represented the "Back to the South" movement. I think, however, that I succeeded in convincing people in Cleveland before leaving that I was merely looking for facts concerning negro migration, regardless of whether the conditions were favorable or not.

Another welfare worker, in talking with me, stated that the northern negro has not fully accepted the responsibility of initiating his southern brother, or the new migrant. He said that the northerners are somewhat ashamed of being identified with the southerners. There was considerable resentment expressed by the upper-class colored people over the refusal of one of the leading stores in Cleveland to try a hat on a prominent colored citizen. This matter was brought up in a public meeting and discussed very spiritedly.

The educational situation in Cleveland seems to be not so much of a "storm center" as it is in some of the other Ohio towns, especially in the effort to handle the increase of negro children. It will be understood that negro and white teachers work in the system, therefore teaching both colored and white children as the case happens to be. I saw an instance where every member of the class was white and the teacher was colored. Both teacher and the students seemed absolutely unconscious of race. One of the colored teachers in the public schools told me that since the recent influx of negroes from the South many white parents are grumbling about their children having to associate with children so much older than theirs because of the low grades made by the southern negro children. Then too, the teachers are having a hard time because they find it difficult to interest a child 15 years old with things that interest one 8 years old. Yet the low grades make it necessary for children of different ages to be thrown together. There seems to be a great deal more dissatisfaction and feeling about this than there is about the color line. It seems that the mixed-teacher system in Cleveland schools has been in vogue so long that people accept it generally.

On a visit to one of the big manufacturing concerns in Cleveland, I found that this particular company has followed the practice for a number of years of sending a recruiting agent into the South among negro schools that have trades departments and picking out good material, and using these young men during the summer vacation. In this way, they have built up a very strong force of colored workers. In doing this they have developed negro leadership. They have employed a colored man who makes the contact between colored employees and white foremen. Also he represents these colored people to the company. Judging from the expressions of the white officials, this system

proves very satisfactory. The company referred to works about 700 colored people, men and women, doing common, semi-skilled, and skilled labor. I saw sturdy colored women, dressed in bloomers, operating large electric bolt machines and various other contrivances. White men and negro men worked side by side in the foundries, drawing the same pay for the same kind of work. White women work with colored women under the same system. I saw in this Cleveland plant, where more than 700 people were employed, workers employed as draftsmen, smiths, rolling-mill men, shipping clerks, elevator operators, chemists, carpenters, garage men, and messengers.

I was interested in finding out whence some of these colored workers came. I met some who were from Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, and Tennessee. I asked the colored contact man just what kind of worker the raw negro recruit, just from the cotton fields, made in industry. He said that this type of man made the very best worker, as a common laborer, they have. "In the first place," he said, "to this fellow everything is new. The city, the street cars, and all, not to speak of the big plant in which he works, and he is afraid that he will make a mistake, therefore, he is anxious about his new place. He is the type of fellow who gets up at 4 o'clock in the morning and is on time, because he is afraid of losing his job. The city chap is the fellow who gives us the most trouble. He always tries to get by - knows everything, and is always trying to explain why he didn't do this or that." I asked this man if he favored separate labor units in the big industries, that is, colored crews with colored overseers. He said that he did not.

"In the first place," he said, "Negroes know so little about industry and manufacturing that to put them off to themselves would be suicidal, in that they would be cut off almost entirely from their source of training. The negro who has come North in large numbers and is now employed in big industrial plants holding jobs that negroes were never known to occupy, is getting a very fundamental education, and if something should happen so that the big industries would have to stop employing negroes, and he would have to move on, wherever he stopped, he would make a better citizen." "Many white people," he said, "have been simply amazed at the aptness of the colored man to adapt himself to industrial conditions."

In Cleveland a welfare institution is operated especially for the accommodation of colored girls, not wayward girls, but those needing a home while they work. This agency is meeting the migration situation in a most concrete and effective manner. I was permitted to interview a group of young colored women who are employed in various lines of work in the city and make their home at this institution. These young women came from all parts of the South; all had had advantages of education, and some are stenographers, secretaries, school-teachers, nurses, and maids. I was interested in finding out why they came North. Summing up their reasons would mean about this: "We are simply tired of the South, and all of its ill treatment of the negro." Some of them expressed themselves as hoping some day to be able to send for their mothers and fathers, thus severing all connection with the Southland.

I met scores of colored people who have gone North in the past two years, with whom I am personally acquainted, due to traveling over a large portion of the South as I do.

I asked one of the leading officials of a Cleveland company if he thought the rural southern negro was able to adjust himself to northern industrial conditions. He said that his impression was that the negro was not doing so well in the big cities. "For the time being," he says, "he seems to be holding his place in industry, but it looks as if he is playing a losing game, because in most instances he is having to put up with what is left. Especially is this true in the housing situation. Of course, there may be exceptions with which I am not familiar." I attended a women's club meeting composed of American white, foreign, and colored women, and their relationship was normal. Of course this colored welfare worker was in a way experimenting. I was convinced that the rapid increase of colored people from the South moving into certain communities automatically created certain problems - the solution of which must be worked out with a great deal of precaution. In so many cases the problem of amicable relations between the various races where colored people are specifically concerned is a matter of numbers. In other words, one or two colored people might not attract attention particularly, yet 15 or 20 in the same audience might cause some anxiety on the part of those in charge of the social affairs.

Detroit, Mich.

Detroit is the great city of refuge or industrial Mecca for the southern negro. Talking with a leading negro doctor from the South, who has been in Detroit about four years, I was impressed with the progress he had made since leaving the South. He has a lucrative practice among colored and a few foreign people. He is the owner of an office building, in which he has a bank of which he is president; and he owns a drug store and an infirmary. Of course, this man did not go North empty-handed. He was the owner of some property and means before he left the South. I was anxious to have him make a statement, inasmuch as his varied activities as doctor and business man brought him into contact with all classes of people.

Discussing conditions, he said, "A great deal is being said about the negro immigration from the South, but I fear the public is allowing this condition to overshadow the extremely large movement of white people from the South to the North. There is a movement, fostered by southern white people here in the city, known as the School Protective League. It has worked itself into the city elections, and all that is aimed at is the colored teachers in the school system. A few of the colored people, for selfish reasons, favor separate schools, but the old settlers frown on it, inasmuch as they have colored teachers already. The moving spirit among the white people here does not want separate schools, saying that it would merely be a duplication of interest and a division of funds, sacrificing efficiency for prejudice." He further said, in speaking of the churches, "The preachers in most cases are not working for the best interest of the people. They come here, rent a vacant store, or some other empty building, and begin their churches. Pretty soon they bargain for some big, costly, white church building that is for sale, which runs up into thousands of dollars. Then they begin their rallies and their drives to pay for these churches, taxing their members unmercifully. Instead of encouraging these people who come here for economic betterment to invest their money in property

and to educate their children, the bigger the wages earned by their members, the bigger and costlier the church. Many of these preachers are missing a wonderful opportunity to encourage their members to buy homes."

I discussed the question of the public-school system in Detroit with some of the colored teachers. One of them summed up the situation in a statement as follows:

"Only a few people know the real condition which we teachers find in the schools. Of course, all of the children cannot be blamed for what a few do. But one bad apple soon spoils a barrel. The teachers do all that they can to remedy these conditions, but the teacher and the home must work together for the good of the child. So far, very little aid has been received from the home. The percentage of colored boys and girls has increased greatly in Detroit schools within the last six years. Many of these children are much over age for their grades. It is with these over-age children that we have the most trouble. Instead of focusing their attention on their lessons and getting to the level where they belong, their sole ambition is to imitate Rudolph Valentino or some noted screen 'vamp'. The girls in some cases are dressed to resemble sophisticated shopgirls of the worst type. The boy's idea of being a man consists of wearing 'bell-bottom' trousers and 'sheik' caps. It is shocking to see a group of this type coming down the street calling themselves 'sheiks' and 'She-bas,' when to the onlooker they resemble 'shreiks' and 'screams.' It is appalling to see groups of large boys holding girls, while other boys kiss them and insult them in various ways. Then is when we see this type at its worst. Profanity is used continuously and constantly. Good English is expected from this group about as much as one would expect to hear them speak Greek. I cannot truthfully say that the children are to blame, because they hear this sort of talk at home and do not know any different. These children have many desirable traits, but they are dormant because of bad external influences. A psychological fact looms greatly before us. It is the power of imitation. Imitation is the great instinct in a little child. It becomes less powerful as the child grows older, but it does not disappear. So we are left to conclude that as a child's parents act, so does he.

"A peculiar custom, barbaric at that, exists among our colored children. That is the carrying of weapons. I mean really guns and razors. The razor is the most common. It is used particularly by the 'bullies.' Some of these children assume the attitude of hardened criminals and are quite efficient in bullying children who are not their equals physically. It is considered by some a great honor to be thought of as 'bad.' And these bad ones are the most dumb. Fights are hourly affairs in the schools where there are many colored children. Of course the white children fight, too. But we do not want to be copies. The destruction of school and private property seems to be the height of some children's ambitions. They deface the desks, walls, and woodwork of school buildings with pins, tacks, nails, and knives. This is done constantly, despite the efforts of the teachers to teach them respect for the property of others.

Somewhat similar conditions exist in the high schools. The colored students congregate in conspicuous parts of the school buildings and make themselves still more conspicuous by their loud talking and laughter. Let it be understood that the better class of children, in most cases, are not guilty, although they, too, occasionally fall by the wayside and disgrace themselves and their parents. These conditions must be remedied. We colored people realize that we are judged by the worst of our race. It is our duty to ourselves and our race to do all we possibly can to bring realization of their faults to these children and their parents. We need constructive criticism. It will do little good for us to merely admit the existence of such deplorable conditions. What we must do is to educate our people to a better standard of living and impart to them a better code of ethics."

An effort was made to find out something about the so-called "crime wave" that is now in progress in Detroit, presumably because of the great influx of negroes. The following statement by a colored resident seems to express the general sentiments of the colored people:

"Race hatred rife? Criminal wave sweeping the city? Ku-Klux Klan demonstrations in the city hall? Much talk and discussion about crime and race relation throughout the whole of society? Why all this whirlwind of unrest in Detroit, too busy with production to think of hatred and strife, too active to stoop to pettiness? In the past, Detroit has been most favored in the character of its colored inhabitants. It is true that Detroit is a most cosmopolitan city, drawing her people from every part of the earth. But other races than the negro race prove very poor and sterile soil for the white man's seed of prejudice to be planted and spring up into growth. Other races have come to the city bringing all their foreign customs, superstitions, and varying modes of living, and although they have come to this industrial center in large numbers, their coming has not been attended by outbursts of hatred and demonstrations in public places. They have been accepted - not always as a desirable element - but at least as something to be tolerated.

"The year of 1916-17 marked a great exodus of colored people from the Southland, and Detroit got her share during the past year. Another great migration has been in progress, and Detroit again has gotten her share of both good and bad. Before these two periods of migration, the colored man was decidedly in the background in the life of the city, because of his minority. He was lost in the crowd. Few of his acts, whether good or bad, were noticed or stressed, because the colored man, as a separate kind of person, belonging to a different race, was so seldom in evidence. But with the coming of large numbers of the race, we have more group unity, more organization, greater separation, more distinctly negro achievements, and on the other hand more outstanding negro maladjustments and crime. We have heard great 'arguments' about it, yet I insist that the Detroit criminal - negro criminal situation, if you will - is not an abnormal situation. The abnormality lies in what Detroit has been accustomed to in the past. I repeat, Detroit in the past was most favored in the character of its colored population. But with the coming of large numbers, we can but expect a mixture of the good with the bad. Hence, let us face the thing squarely as a normal problem to be met and mastered in a healthy,

normal way. Let us not fly up in the air about the great abnormal crime wave, and thus spend long hours making much ado about nothing.

"First, by way of healing the sore from within, let us organize into a strong body, with representatives from all agencies, social and religious, which touch the masses of our people directly; or if there be such organizations let them function in dead earnest as never before. And in such organizations let us bring our very best into play in intelligent, constructive thinking, and in planning a way of attacking and mastering the menace of crime. Further, let us do something which is very seldom done, let us all support this organization and its leaders and not pull against it - but remember that in unity there is strength. And as an external remedy, first let us use every possible method in showing our white neighbor that the situation is not such an abnormal one; that it is something to be expected. And second, let us call their attention to the fact that there is as well a positive side to the crime wave; that while negroes shoot, kill, and rob, they also establish good homes, support churches, succeed in the business and the professional world, and make sturdy constructive contributions to the progress and well-being of the community."

A visit through the congested sections of the city explained why the schools and courts are having such a difficult time controlling this element. I went into many negro homes that are crowded beyond the point of common decency. The usual "Rooms for rent" or "Buffet flat" signs in many cases are nothing more or less than advertisements of houses of ill repute. As a result of this condition divorces are common, and common-law marriages are prevalent. Other unthinkable forms of immorality and degradation were brought to my attention. Rooms of this type cost \$7 and \$8 per week, with the use of a public bath in the building.

The Detroit Urban League is exceedingly active in reaching the negro migrants. This organization with headquarters at New York City has local offices in most of the northern large cities. They seek to get at the fundamentals in Negro uplift. I quote here a few items which this organization is passing out to the people in the form of folders:

"We want to make Detroit a place free from race prejudice, race friction, and discrimination. If you will observe the following suggestions you can greatly help us in bringing this about:

"DON'T carry on loud conversations or use vulgar or obscene language on the street cars, streets, or in public places. Remember that this hurts us as a race.

"DON'T go about the streets or on the street car in bungalow aprons, boudoir caps, and house slippers. Wear regular street clothes when you go into the streets.

"TRY to dress neatly at all times, but don't be a dude or wear flashy clothes. They are as undesirable and as harmful as unclean clothes.

"DON'T think you can hold your job unless you are on time, industrious, efficient, and sober.

"DON'T sit in front of your house or around Belle Isle or public places with your shoes off. Don't wear overalls on Sunday.

"DON'T stay away from work every time some one gives a picnic or boat ride. Stay on your job. Others do.

"DON'T spend all your money for pleasure. Save some of it for extra clothing and fuel for the winter and to take care of your family and yourself when sickness comes.

"DON'T forget that cleanliness and fresh air are necessary to good health. Keep your windows open.

"DON'T do your children's hair up into alleys, canals, and knots if you don't want other children to make fun of them. Keep them clean.

"DON'T keep your children out of school. See that they attend the nearest school to you.

"DON'T fail to start a savings account with some good bank or building and loan association.

"DON'T throw refuse or tin cans in your back or front yards. Keep your surroundings as clean as possible. This makes for good health.

"DON'T fool with patent medicines. In case of sickness, send for a good doctor. In case you have no money, go to some of the board of health clinics.

"DON'T be rude and ugly to people on the streets. Be courteous and polite, and thereby keep out of trouble.

"DON'T fail to meet the teachers of your children. Keep in touch with them. Every hateful thing that your child says about the teacher is not true.

"DON'T fail to become connected with some church as soon as you get into the city.

"DON'T make lots of unnecessary noise going to and from baseball games. If the parks are taken away from you, it will be partly your own fault."

The league is also making an effort, through posters, to teach the housekeepers to present a neat appearance in and around their homes. Complaints are being received by the police department and the street-railway officials in regard to unclean clothing of colored workmen on the car lines. This kind of carelessness will lead to discrimination and segregation unless steps are taken to improve conditions."

I made a visit to the main plant of the Ford Automobile Co. An effort was made to ascertain the status of negroes employed by this company. For the past six months, the company has been making an experiment, i. e., to employ a colored contact man to represent the colored people to the company. It seems that a number of welfare agencies in the city, from time to time have been advocating the employment of colored welfare workers on the official staff of a number of large industrial plants, suggesting that the companies allow them to supply the proposed welfare worker, but this suggestion has not been received very favorably, apparently. The companies seem to feel that they would get better results if they took some negro employee who has worked from the ground up and who knows the job, and whom they know, and gradually work him in. We found this kind of colored man being tried out in the Ford plant. At the time of the visit, it was estimated that the Ford interests were working 10,000 negro men. In conversation with me, this colored contact man said: "The general manager of this company insists that there shall be no discrimination as to color." We saw hundreds of negro men working side by side with white men in the huge moulding shops. As the guide stated, "This particular job requires both brain and brawn, and most of the men you see here are making \$6 and \$7 per day." I saw several colored men who received their mechanical training at Tuskegee Institute, working as skilled and semiskilled laborers.

One thing was noticeable in connection with proper conveniences for the help at the Ford plant. There seem to be no facilities for washing up and changing clothes after work in the various departments where the men become very dirty. Of course, a reasonably large number of them come to work in their own Ford cars, but thousands of them use the street cars going into the city, which makes it very uncomfortable for the other passengers. It was pointed out that the Ford interests had grown so rapidly that this form of welfare work has not been able to keep pace with the other essential features, and that there was also a premium on space. Speaking of his "boss," one man said:

"Henry Ford is probably the greatest human benefactor the world has ever known. These men who work here seem to take this somewhat as a sacred duty, and thousands of them are laying aside their earnings for a rainy day."

While talking with me, an Urban League man who is in contact with most of the big industrial plants said: "Many of the employers feel that it is cheaper to work negroes in dangerous places in their plants than it is to work foreigners because the negroes understand English, whereas the foreigner does not, and because of this fact, the company is kept paying out large sums of money for accidents." Speaking further about why the negroes go to Detroit in such large numbers, this worker said that it was "mainly for economic freedom."

I found a preacher (negro) in Detroit linking his church with the Ford interests. He has organized a "Ford Club" in his church, composed of the men who work at the Ford plant. He has outlined various educational and inspirational functions for them. They have glee clubs and orchestras. I attended this man's church and found him preaching a practical everyday religion. For example, he warned the people to be on time at their jobs, and of the awful consequences of losing a job in the North during the winter. He said:

"Through our welfare organization, we are doing all that we can to help the man who is down, but if there are any of you here so lazy as to lose your jobs because of shiftlessness, we would rather you did not appeal to the church for help."

Practically two-thirds of his congregation is from the South.

Gary, Ind.

I had a conference with a leading negro architect in Gary, who was well posted on the negro situation there. He said that the States which are the greatest contributors to the influx there are Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. Upon further investigation, I found this statement quite true. There is a newness about Gary that impresses one that it is a city with the distinct absence of community and social development. The majority of our people there are more or less crude and undeveloped.

I was interested in finding out to what extent so large a number of people, engaged all their lives in agricultural pursuits, could almost overnight, adjust themselves to an industrial environment. The land around Gary, with its huge sand dunes, would be enough to make the average farmer tremble with fear and disappointment. But I found the people quite contented, working at their jobs, and contributing to the civic and social welfare of the community. They are building churches, and they have one or two hotels. These are excellent buildings, but poorly kept because of the type of individual that patronizes them. They have a Y. M. C. A., county probation officer, and various other welfare agencies in operation.

The architect was under the impression that a large number of negroes should be induced to settle on the farms, especially in Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan. He lamented the fact that colored people in the South sell their property, come North with rather large sums of money, and are met by and introduced to smart and friendly talking white people who sell them houses and lots and other property at get-rich-quick prices. After the migrants find themselves in "hot water," they invariably look to members of their own race for assistance and advice.

I met a leading negro preacher of Gary, who said: "After having come in close contact with negroes in my church from the South, I have come to the conclusion, among other things, that the rural southern Negro needs a new ministry, that is shorn considerably of emotionalism and sentiment. Evidently, we are not getting the very best type of southern negro, judging from my meager experience with conditions, being born in Ohio. I believe the churches could do a wonderful piece of missionary work by an exchange of pastors, i.e., let northern preachers go South. If I could in some way get a guarantee from the southern white people in some of the backwoods communities in the South that I would not be lynched, or run out of the community, I would gladly give my services toward the building of a stronger ministry in the South. I have members of my own church who have recently come North, who shout and make all kinds of testimonies about their religion, and yet who would not pay their debts; and their womenfolk work out as servants and rarely come on time. This condition in itself makes it very hard for the part of our race that is trying to live up to the standard."

I had a talk with a leading negro lawyer of Gary, and his story was indeed interesting. He was born in the Mississippi Delta, and after he became of age, he became dissatisfied with his surroundings. He migrated to Chicago and got a job at one of the big packing plants, where he worked in the day, and studied law at night until he saved enough money to complete his course. Now he is doing a splendid business in Gary. He said that the recent migration of the Negro is bringing about many changes, notably that negro doctors, lawyers, and other professional men are coming to the front as never before. Most of the negro businesses in this city and other northern cities are owned or controlled by southern negroes. He said that our strongest and most aggressive politicians are in most cases originally from the South, and our most successful preachers are those who were born in the South and had advantages of education in the South and the North, so that it is necessary to make a careful study of the whole situation in order to appreciate just what is going on at the present time. I had a chance to visit the Gary steel plant, a branch of the United States Steel Corporation. Here, as in Cleveland and in Detroit, I found the company developing negro leadership. In their employment department they have a negro man who makes the contact between the white officials and the colored employees. This man also serves somewhat as a recruiting officer, securing laborers for the company. I talked with some of the workers on the job. One negro man who has been with the company for a number of years and occupies somewhat of a supervisory place, said, "Negro migration has helped wonderfully. For instance, I would not have my job if it were not for it." He said further:

"Of course, along with southern negroes have come, it seems to me, almost as many southern whites, and I want to tell you they make it pretty hard for us. A large number of straw bosses here are from Mississippi and Alabama. On the other hand, the turnover of negro employees is too great. So many of them take freedom for license, and cause a great deal of trouble."

In a talk with me one of the white officials of the company said, "My negro help is making good. Our company is encouraging home ownership." I remarked that a number of us here in the South have thought all along that much of the demand for negro labor in the North was somewhat of a war-time measure, an abnormal situation, and when things came back to normal the services of the Negro in large numbers would not be needed.

"So far as I know," said the official, "the negroes whom we have employed here have demonstrated their ability to be trained into the kind of material that we need to carry on our business, and I think that it will be the policy of our company to keep a comparatively large number of them on our pay roll at all times. My experience with the average negro with whom we come in contact is that he will not respect negro leadership. In other words, he seems to prefer not to work under members of his own race. Of course, I judge that there must be a reason for this, but I'm not so familiar with that phase of negro psychology. You can feel safe in saying that our company will employ negroes in large numbers from now on. Further, it is not a war-time measure. We have now employed around 2,500 negro laborers."

I went around the plant with the contact man. I use the word contact for want of a better term. It must be understood that the placing of these negro men in industry is quite new, so that the proper designation, in order not to

conflict with existing authority and rank, is difficult. In most cases, these men have no name or rank. Of course, this is unimportant, in comparison with the great opportunity for building up amicable relations with the colored people, who are increasing in large numbers in these plants, the American whites, both southern and northern, and foreigners.

Of these 2,500 negroes, we found some working practically all over the plant, except in the laboratory. Some were running yard locomotives, some serving as firemen, being paid from \$6 to \$9 per day, according to the work being performed. At this plant, unlike the Ford plant, we found built near each unit a washhouse, each washhouse in charge of a janitor, and each immaculate. Each employee is assigned to a locker and a washbowl, so that he is able to go to and from the plant in a respectable manner.

Elsewhere in this report, the question of friction between outside agencies and the colored contact man working for the industrial plant proper has been mentioned. I found practically the same conditions existing here. Certain agencies in Chicago have made repeated efforts to place one of their colored welfare workers in a supervisory capacity over colored employees in this plant. I found the company taking the same stand as in other places, that they preferred using their own material directly from the ranks.

I accompanied the colored county probation officer into a number of negro homes, if they could be called such; and I confess that no one could ever have made me believe that people in this civilized age would be content to live in such squalid and filthy holes. The first family visited was living in a basement, a portion of which extended under the sidewalk. The place was crowded and cramped beyond description, and with small improvised compartments just large enough to contain a bed and a chair, and with no windows. In this place were housed 15 people. The beds were used in shifts, day and night. The rent for this space cost \$27 per month with the provision requesting the occupant to keep the furnace going for the heating of the building. I looked into the space that went under the sidewalk, in which a man was sleeping who worked at night in the plant; and fortunately for him, there was a broken crack in the sidewalk through which he breathed some fresh air. A man was sleeping in the other room with absolutely no window, and his door was fastened tightly. Men, women, and children were all crowded together. I talked with this family and found that they were from Mississippi; that they had been in Gary almost a year, and that their children were sick.

I was taken to visit a family living in a shack. These people, too, were originally from Mississippi and had been in the North for eight years. They had five children, and truly, they were living in the vilest place I have ever seen. A horse stable was a part of the house in which they lived. There were absolutely no sanitary facilities. The head of the family was paralyzed; the children were ill. The probation officer arranged that day to send the husband to the charity hospital, and the wife and children to a home for the destitute. It is interesting to note that even though our people may be far down the scale of living, they seek to belong to something. It appears this family were members of the U.N.I.A., or the Universal Negro Improvement Association. One of the children had the distinction of being named Marcus Andrew Henry Garvey Davis.

I attended a meeting of the probation officers for the county in which Gary is located. The question of control of negro delinquents came up. It was evident from the discussions that some difficulty was experienced in getting southern negro parents to assist the officers in keeping their children in school, due to the fact that in the South the compulsory school law rarely ever applies to negroes. But I could not help being impressed with the patience and sympathy shown by these white probation officers, and an equal amount of cooperation seemed to be in existence with the white teachers. The colored probation officer who accompanied me seems to be wonderfully adapted to the position which she holds, and being of southern birth, having a broad experience, she yields a peculiar influence over the people.

To discuss the housing situation further, Room seems to be at a great premium in Gary. We visited a family of five, man and wife and two daughters (twins) about 14 or 15 years old, and one son, possibly 13. They were living in a railway freight car, which had been pillowed up and made stationary alongside the railroad. The probation officer was sent there on a mission caused by a report from the school-teacher where the girls attended school. It was easy to understand how difficult the teacher's task was to keep these young misses straight, after looking into this place where they ate and slept. There was absolutely no partition inside the box car. The beds were placed side by side somewhat in the same fashion as they are in any army barracks. Cooking and eating were done in the same compartment. I talked with the head of this family, and he did not seem to be at all worried about the misconduct of his daughter as reported at school.

Everybody who goes to Gary feels that the visit is incomplete unless the famous Gary school system is studied. It was my privilege to visit several of the city schools. In talking with a white principal of one of the large schools about the negro situation, I asked him if the negro citizens objected to separate schools. He said:

"Many of them do because, as I understand it, they are afraid they will be looked down upon as inferior, and that they will not get a fair division of public funds. We tried separate classes of negro children with negro teachers, but it proved to be a failure. After making this change, we then parceled them out into classes with the white children according to their grades.

"My greatest problem is the matter of social functions. I can well control the students and teachers in their classes and on the playgrounds and in all other regular affairs, but when we have our public affairs, and entertainments, so many of the white parents refuse to affiliate, and rather than allow their children to take part with negro children in certain public functions at the school building, they will have their entertainments at the public parks or at their homes. On the other hand, the colored students realize that they are missing something by not having these public exercises, so the only thing I have been able to do was to appeal to a few strong negro students in the classes, and they have agreed to have separate gatherings so as to get the benefit of the training."

Every graduating class in the high school contains a fair proportion of negro boys and girls, and the records show that they go through the various colleges with honors. I was interested in visiting two other schools in Gary that have all colored teachers. I talked with the colored teachers, and some of them expressed themselves for and against separate schools. There seems to arise here the same ill feeling that I found in Cincinnati - the question of not allowing negro boys and girls to take their swimming lessons with white boys and girls respectively. They may use the pools, I understand, but at different times. In conversation with a teacher in the Gary system I found a condition similar to that in Akron. I was told of a negro boy, who when reprimanded for his misconduct, dared the teacher to put his hands on him, with the statement that a white man better not hit him. The teacher sent for the boy's mother. She came and told the teacher that if he put his hands on her son, she would blow his brains out. The matter was closed by transferring the boy to a school where there were all colored teachers and students. A colored resident summed up the question of the overbearing attitude exhibited by some of the southern negroes as follows:

"The Negro from the South, for many years has been schooled into hating the southern white man, and when he comes North he is not quick to understand that there is a difference. In other words, to many of them all white people look alike, i.e., bad."

The question of segregation seems to be a live subject around Gary. I talked with a number of colored citizens of that section, but they do not seem to know what they want, and everybody seems to have a different opinion. It is noticeable that the influx of negroes from the South has a tendency to curtail some of the privileges accorded colored people. In a suburb, I noticed the following sign in a white drug store, "We cater to whites only." I understand that such signs as these have only recently come into existence, but are becoming more prevalent as time goes on.

I felt quite at home in Gary, because I saw large numbers of country people there whom I had met in my travels through the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. These people have gone North in the past two or three years. I also saw a number of colored teachers from the South, who have worked their way into the Gary school system.

Milwaukee, Wis.

In Milwaukee, I found that many people (colored) had moved into that section from Gary and Chicago and were working in industrial plants there. The negro population of Milwaukee is estimated to be around 6,000, an increase of about 4,000 since 1916. The Negro finds employment in steel mills, foundries, and packing houses. The health conditions there are rapidly improving, as will be shown by the following statement of births and deaths per thousand population:

Year.	Births.	Deaths.
1918-----	27	50
1919-----	23	40
1920-----	50	25
1921-----	41	39
1922-----	60	42